1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

turns very light when dry. To straighten a reed, they lash it against a horizontal piece of wood, fastening a weight at one end. Arrowheads are wide taquara splinters, barbed rods (fig. 59, *h*), wooden rods tipped with a sharp point of monkey or deer bones (fig. 59, *c*), and massive, blunt wooden knobs used for birds (fig. 59, *a*, *b*). Some bird arrows are also tipped with four slightly diverging sticks or thorns. In recent years, the hunting and war arrows of the Santa Catarina *Aweikoma-Caingang* have been tipped with duck-bill iron heads (fig. 59, *i*). Feathering is of the arched type (eastern Brazilian). Hunters always carry a ready supply of bone heads, shafts, and feathers to replace lost arrows.

Spears are common among the *Caingang*, who tipped them with iron blades obtained from the Whites (fig. 59, *m*). The *Aweikoma* were extremely skillful in handling these weapons, which they decorated with fire-engraved designs and with basketry coverings.

The clubs of the Paraná *Caingang* are short cylindrical cudgels covered with basketry (fig. 59, *l*); those of the so-called *Botocudo* are more or less tapering, with the cross section often prismatic, thus presenting sharp cutting edges (fig. 59, *k*). They are decorated with fire engravings and with a basketry sheath. The cudgels of the São Paulo *Caingang* have a bulging head and are from 5 to 6 feet long.

Countless stone rings have been found on archeological sites of the State of Rio Grande do Sul. In the 17th century, some tribes of the upper Paraguay River used clubs with stone heads (itaiza), but there is no evidence that these Indians were *Caingang;* it is more likely that they were *Guaraní*.

To frustrate attack or pursuit by an enemy, the *Caingang* strewed the paths leading to their camps with caltrops made of sharp bone splinters bound in a bundle with cotton thread and wax. They also dug pitfalls in the bottom of which they placed sharp spears.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Moieties.—The *Caingang* of Palmas have two exogamous, patrilineal moieties, each split into two groups. Baldus (1935, pp. 44–47) does not give the names of the moieties, merely stating that they were called by the word for both "friend" and "two," and that fellow members considered one another cousins. On the other hand, he lists the four subgroups according to their prestige as follows: Votóro, Kadnyerú (Kañerú), Aniky, and Kamé. The reason for this preferential ranking could not be ascertained. Every individual is born into a moiety, but is assigned to one of the subgroups at a mortuary feast by a man or a woman of his own moiety.

Among the *Caingang* of Palmas, the father decided, when he painted a son or a daughter for the first time, to which of the two

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

616 groups of his moiety he would forever belong (Baldus, 1937 c). The alleged purpose of this assignment was to equalize the groups numerically, so that they could be paired for dancing; but, as each group danced separately, the explanation is probably a rationalization. In fact, the two divisions are not even approximately equal. Members of each group could be recognized by their facial painting. The Kadnyerú display round patterns, the Kamé stripes. (See Horta Barbosa, 1913, p. 39.)

Nimuendajú's (1914, pp. 373–375) earlier report concerning the *Coingang* between the Tieté and Ijuhí Rivers, speaks of two moieties associated with the ancestral twins Kañerú and Kamé. The former was of fiery and resolute, but volatile, temperament, and of light, slim build. Kamé, on the other hand, was mentally and physically slow, but persistent. Each moity included three (formerly four) classes: Paí, Votóro, Péngre.

All natural phenomena are divided between these two moieties; the sun is Kamé, the moon, Kañerú. In general, slender and spotted objects belong to the Kañerú, clumsy and striped ones to the Kamé. Their use in ritual is confined to the appropriate group.

The *Aweikoma-Coingang* lack moieties, but have five groups with distinctive sets of personal names and body-paint designs. Though recent genealogical inquiry failed to establish either strict inheritance of group membership or exogamy, the natives insisted that individuals bearing the same designs should not marry, so that a former patrilineal clan system is indicated (Henry, 1941, pp. 59, 88, 175 f.).

582 **Marriage groups.**—Concerning marriage rules between subgroups, Horta Barbosa (1913, p. 26) gives the following information:

> Marriages obey complicated rules depending on the groups [moieties] and subgroups into which the *Kaingang* families are divided. The most important of these groups are the Camems and Canherocrens; marriages can take place only between the men of one group and the women of the other. However, it must not be thought that it is licit for a Camem to marry any Canherucren for, in order to make things more complicated, there is a division into subgroups, fairly numerous. Individuals of a certain Kamé subgroup can only marry a woman of a certain Canherucren [Kadnyerú] subgroup, save for a few exceptions which confuse a question which otherwise should be so simple.

601 **Kinship terms.**—The relationship system is based on relative age. A man calls his father, his grandfather, and the men of their generations by the same term, and his mother and grandmother by another term. He uses a single name for all male and female blood relatives, excepting real parents and grandparents and grandparents' siblings and own children. One word (child) serves for all people much younger than ego and for the children of all people with whom he has sexual relations. There is a word for husband and another for wife. A single word applies to all relatives-in-law (Henry, 1941, pp. 177–178).

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

precipitate it into a boiling pot. He also describes the slippery path from which it may fall into a swamp, where a huge crab awaits it (Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 372). 764 775

But at last the soul arrives at an underworld in the west, where it is day during our night, and where the forests teem with tapirs, deer, and other game. The souls of the aged become young again and live for the span of a human life. After a second death, the soul turns into a small insect, generally a mosquito or an ant, whose death ends everything; for this reason the *Caingang* never kill these insects (Baldus, 1937 c, p. 49).

WARFARE

A man who has been offended by some member of the community stands in front of his hut and in a loud voice enumerates all his grievances, sometimes bursting into a chant. He ends with threats against his enemy who, in the meantime, behaves in the same manner on the other side of the camp. After reciprocal abuses that often last a whole night, the challenger, followed by a group of supporters, advances toward the offender, who is immediately assisted by his own partisans. Both factions, armed with wooden clubs, fight a pitched battle, but are careful not to kill anybody. The sham battles of the *Caingang* have been described by many observers and may well be formalised brawls which have been interpreted as sportive games. 578 627

Fe[illegible] between *Caingang* groups may develop into regular warfare. When one group engages another, the members of the Kadnyerú moity subdivision always form the first line. The Kamé constitute the second line and enter the fight as a reserve to take the place of the exhausted Kadnyerú. Battles between related groups are always preceded by exchanges of insults and by other demonstrations of anger. Although no weapons but cudgels are used, blows are so lustily administered that many are seriously wounded or killed. 628 726 [616] [411]

Wars against foreign tribes or the Whites were less strictly patterned. The *Caingang*, like all Indians, relied mainly on surprise attacks carried on at dawn. After a general discharge of arrows, the warriors, armed with their clubs, rushed against the enemy (Horta Barbosa, 1913, p. 42). 726 648

Women and children were generally spared and were adopted by the victorious group. They cut off the heads of slain enemies but did not keep them as trophies. 727

REMQUETTE

When a *Caingang* visits another village, he hides in the vicinity until able to announce his presence to some relative. The host receives him with his face covered with a cloth and does not look at his guest until 574 576